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An investigation was made of certain structural characteristics of a small, isolated rural community (Pemberton, British Columbia) that might influence participation in adult education. Existing night school courses were mainly in vocational training, domestic sciences, and recreational activities. Although over half of the 158 males interviewed were interested in further education or job training, courses bore little relationship to expressed needs and interests. Variables significant to participation included the following: younger age groups (15-34); larger numbers of children; local birthplace and kinship ties; residential patterns (including distance from night school); father's education; uncertainty as to adequacy of job skills; educational interest; and activity in formal organizations. Conclusions were drawn as to the educational needs of farmers and businessmen, restrictive effects of distance on participation, and the influence of long-time residents on existing course offerings. (The document includes 14 tables and 15 references.) (ly)

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COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

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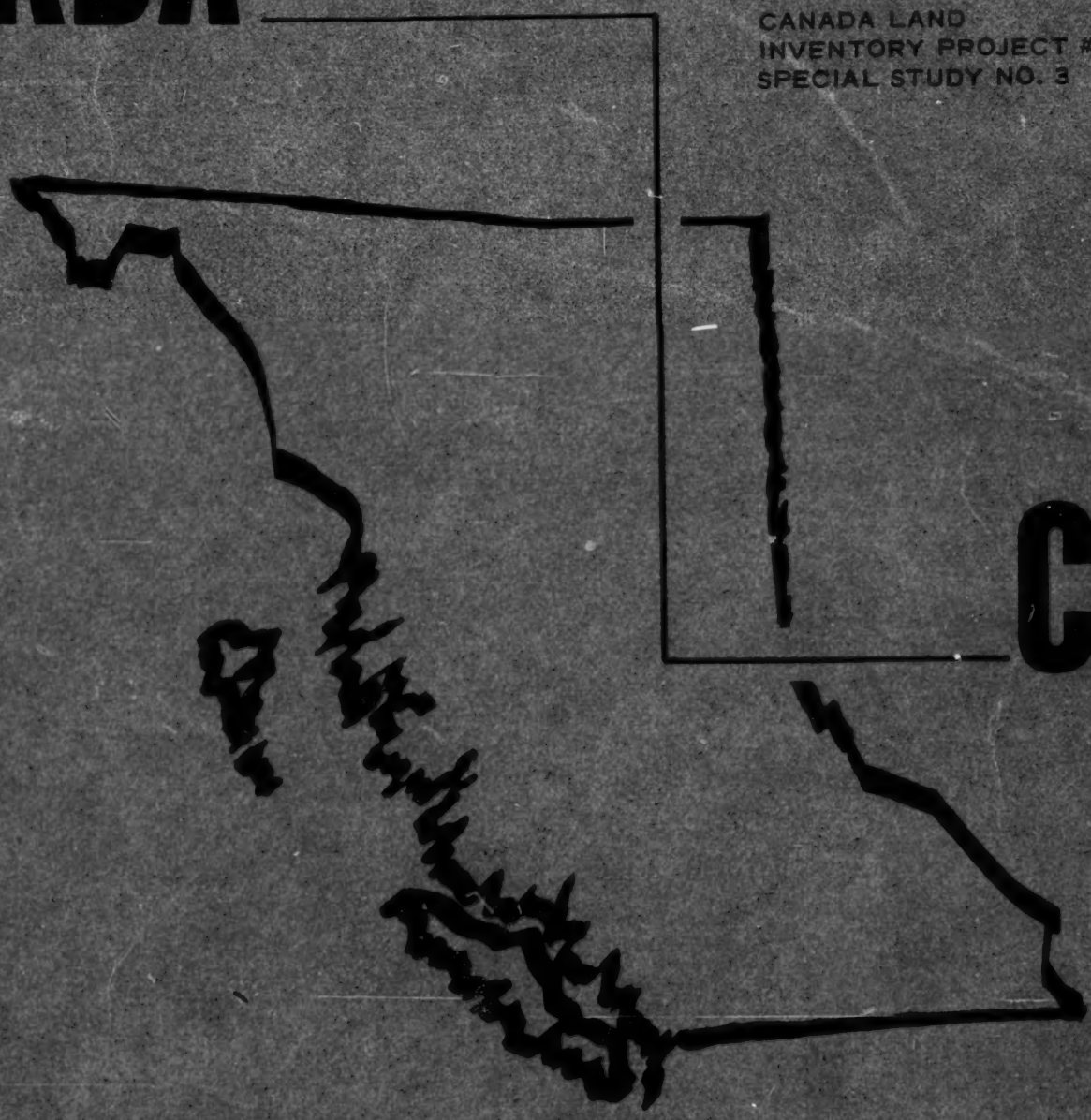
CANADA LAND
INVENTORY PROJECT #49009
SPECIAL STUDY NO. 3



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COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

SPECIAL STUDY #3

ARDA - CANADA LAND INVENTORY PROJECT #49009

by

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and

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1969

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CANADA LAND INVENTORY PROJECT #49009

SURVEY REPORTS

#1 A Socio-Economic Survey of the Prince George Special Sales Area, 1967

#2 A Socio-Economic Survey of the East Kootenay Area, 1968

#3 A Socio-Economic Survey of the Pemberton Valley, 1968

#4 A Socio-Economic Survey of the Peace River Area, 1968

#5 A Socio-Economic Survey of Fort Nelson, 1968

#6 A Socio-Economic Survey of the West Kootenay Area, 1968

#7 A Socio-Economic Survey of the Vanderhoof West Area, 1968

SPECIAL STUDIES

#1 Rural British Columbia: A Bibliography of Social and Economic Research, 1967

#2 The Influence of Education and Age on Participation in Rural Adult Education, 1968

#3 Community Structure and Participation in Adult Education, 1969

PREFACE

The Socio-Economic Sector of the Canada Land Inventory in British Columbia is a project conducted under ARDA which is concerned with a description of the population resident on land in selected rural areas of the province. The principal objective of the project is met through a series of socio-economic survey reports. A subsidiary but no less important aspect of the project is a more detailed analysis of the data which examines certain specialized topics that may contribute to a basic understanding of rural communities in the province, particularly with respect to those factors which might impinge upon rural development.

The study reported here examines the influence upon participation in adult education that may be exerted by certain structural attributes of a rural community. In so doing, it seeks to explain those facets of the phenomenon observed that may be indicated by the data for the particular community studied and it does not generalize beyond that limitation. The utility of this study to rural development is by suggestion and implication rather than by prescription. Furthermore, it contributes somewhat to a better understanding of rural communities in Canada as one link in a slowly accumulating chain of evidence about rural community life.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A basic tenet of a democratic society is that the power in such a society rests with its members but the responsible exercise of power becomes increasingly difficult as society grows more complex. Many individuals who should be active participants in the decision making processes are either isolated by society or isolate themselves from their responsibilities. Such action is almost an inevitable corollary of a mass society which has yet to discover ways to insure equitable opportunities to share in the exercise of power. The persistent alienation of individuals makes this tenet of democracy more myth than reality.

There are two aspects of continuing participation in the processes of democracy which are crucial. On the one hand, essential information upon which decisions are based must be available while on the other hand, individuals must have the ability to handle the decision making process intelligently. The control of both elements rests upon the willingness of people to engage actively in learning continuously but this too is becoming increasingly difficult.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Community development programs represent systematic efforts to broaden the opportunities to share in the decision making process at the local community level. The central elements in such programs are information and experience in decision making. The general dissemination of information may make a public aware of problems and issues requiring common action but this does not insure the learning which is prerequisite to intelligent participation.[1] Research into the diffusion of agricultural technology indicates that the dissemination of information alone will make farmers aware of an innovation but their acceptance of it depends on systematic learning achieved through specific self-study or participation in planned instructional programs.[2] Furthermore, the recency and specific relevance of the learning is crucial.[3] Thus, community development programs provide among other things systematic learning that is relevant to the needs of rural people. Nevertheless, such programs encounter the same problem of non-participation which is characteristic of the larger society.

Participation in the instructional aspects of community development is essentially the same phenomenon as that encountered in any situation in which participation is structured and explicit such as that encountered in social organizations, voluntary associations, or adult education activities. Since community development involves systematic learning it is more closely related to adult education than to voluntary associations with respect to the factors and conditions affecting participation. Even though these are similar phenomena, there are intrinsic differences not yet precisely clarified.

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1. Coolie Verner, A Conceptual Scheme for the Identification and Classification of Processes for Adult Education, Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1962.
2. Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, New York: Free Press, 1962.
3. Coolie Verner and Frank W. Millerd, Adult Education and the Adoption of Innovations by Orchardists in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, Vancouver: Department of Agricultural Economics, University of British Columbia, 1966.

Participation in the organized life of a community is a gregarious activity but different kinds of participation involve different functions and rewards. Participation in those activities which require group action are public while participation in learning is essentially less conspicuous and private. In either case, as yet unclarified psychological factors hold the key to the involvement of an individual[4] but there is enough evidence accumulated to indicate that it is possible to differentiate between those who do and do not participate through personal characteristics.[5] Furthermore, there are also factors in the situation in which participation occurs that exercise an influence.

Since development is community centered, an analysis of personal and situational factors within the context of a single community might provide clues to the inter-relationships of such factors as they relate to participation.[6] Thus it will be possible to relate the socio-economic characteristics of individuals who do or do not participate to selected structural factors in the community which is normally not done in participation research.

The analysis of personal characteristics in relation to participation is so extensive that certain generalizations about socio-economic characteristics can be safely made, which do in fact differentiate between participants and non-participants. Some of these variables reappear consistently and chief among them are educational attainment and age which help to position an individual in the social structure.[7]

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4. Alan B. Knox and Douglas Sjogren, "Motivation to Participate and Learn in Adult Education," Adult Education, 12:238-242, (Summer, 1962).

5. Edmund de S. Brunner, et. al., An Overview of Adult Education Research, Chicago: Adult Education Association, 1959, pp. 89-118. See also: Alan B. Knox, "Clientele Analysis," Review of Educational Research, 35:231-239, (June, 1965).

6. There is not, as yet, any general theory of social participation to provide specific structure to research. Thus, empirical research into the phenomenon is still exploratory and descriptive for the most part.

7. Mohammed Douglah and Gwenna Moss, "Differential Participation Patterns of Adults of Low and High Educational Attainment," Adult Education, 18:247-259, (Summer, 1968). See also: Dean S. Goard and Gary Dickinson, The Influence of Education and Age on Participation in Rural Adult Education, Vancouver: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, 1968, (Special Study No. 2).

Situational factors are less clearly identified and only rarely are these related to personal characteristics.[8] In the study reported here, the personal characteristics of participants in adult education are compared with those of non-participants. Two classes of situational factors were examined and both of these related to the community. In the first instance the social interaction patterns in the community were analyzed and related to participation in adult education and in the second, the locality groups were examined with respect to participation in adult education as well as social interaction.

The community selected for study was one with a considerable degree of physical isolation so that pan-community influences were less likely to contaminate the social relationships that developed within it. It was the kind of situation that would appear to be an ideal setting for a community development program at some time, and there was a minimal adult education program operated in the community.

THE STUDY

The basic data for this report is extracted from a socio-economic survey of Pemberton Valley conducted under the Canada Land Inventory in British Columbia. This survey was made in the summer of 1966 and has been fully reported elsewhere.[9] The detailed survey procedures used for the original

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8. See: Coolie Verner and G.S. Davis, Jr., "Completions and Dropouts: A Review of Research," Adult Education, 14:157-176, (Spring, 1964). See also: Jack London, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O. Hagstrom, Adult Education and Social Class, Berkeley: University of California Survey Research Center, 1963.

9. Coolie Verner and Gary Dickinson, A Socio-Economic Survey of the Pemberton Valley in British Columbia, Vancouver: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, 1968, (Survey Report No. 3).

study have also been reported and need not be repeated here.[10]

In addition to the data collected for the basic survey additional data was gathered from local sources to augment the survey data with respect to adult education activities conducted in the area by the local school district.[11] Night school registration forms for the years 1964, 1965, and 1966 were used to identify participants and these names were matched with the original survey interview schedules in order to identify and segregate all participants and non-participants in adult education in the community. Two measures of participation were used: (1) the number of respondents who had enrolled in a course within the three year period for which such data were available; and (2) the number of courses taken by individual participants. The courses offered in the three year period included Square Dancing, Badminton, Cooking, and Sewing, First Aid, Welding, Bookkeeping, Typing, Carpentry, Literacy, and Driver Training.

THE COMMUNITY

This study was conducted in an isolated rural community known as the Pemberton Valley which is located approximately one hundred miles north east of Vancouver in British Columbia. Until the opening of a gravel road in 1965, the only access to the valley was by railroad and in addition to such physical isolation, the topography of the area tends to restrict contacts with the outside through mass media. No television reception is possible because of the surrounding mountains; radio reception is poor; and no newspaper or similar medium is produced locally.

The economic base of the community is agriculture and forestry with both influenced by the somewhat severe climate. There are some thirty

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10. Coolie Verner, Planning and Conducting a Survey: A Case Study. Ottawa: Rural Development Branch, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1967, (ARDA Project No. 16018).

11. Gary Dickinson, "An Analytical Survey of the Pemberton Valley in British Columbia with Special Reference to Adult Education." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1968.

commercial farms which produce beef cattle and hardy field crops or vegetables--particularly potatoes which are destined primarily for seed. Eight logging firms operate in the valley but they must cease operations from one to four months each year because of weather conditions.

The population of the valley in 1967 totalled 2,000 which was almost evenly divided between white settlers and the original native Indian peoples.[12] Although physical isolation tends to develop homogeneity in a population, Pemberton has three distinct groups consisting of farm, non-farm, and Indian residents. The farm population contains a significantly greater number of immigrants from foreign countries than is found in the non-farm population. The farm residents display a greater stability of residence although the children of both the farm and non-farm groups are more likely to move away than to stay in the valley. Farm residents have less education than their fathers while the non-farm population has substantially more education than its fathers. Both groups have an educational level that is generally lower than that encountered in rural British Columbia as a whole.

The average total family income in the valley was just under $6,000 in 1965 and 18.3 per cent received less than $3,000. Non-farm residents averaged $6,290 with 16.8 per cent reporting less than $3,000 while farm families averaged $4,904 and 23.5 per cent received less than $3,000 per year. Most of the farmers were employed in off-farm jobs for some part of the year, consequently the farm and non-farm labour force are in competition for the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs that are available in the area. With this income the residents maintain a fairly high level of living as represented by the possession of most of the amenities of modern living.

Although Pemberton Valley is isolated geographically and offers only a limited range of goods and services available locally, the residents are content and very few of them consistently expressed dissatisfaction with the community.

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12. Although some Indians did participate in the night school program they were excluded from this study since they lived on the reserve and were not distributed throughout the community.

The majority (74.1 per cent) were strongly favourable to rural life with only 8.2 per cent indicating a preference for urban living. Most of the requirements of life could be satisfied locally and the majority of the respondents were satisfied with what was available to them in Pemberton. Only 7.0 per cent travelled fifty or more miles for food while 38.0 per cent reported travelling that distance for clothing. Adequate medical care was not available locally and this necessitated an average distance of 74.2 miles for that service.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

The participation by Pemberton Valley residents in the adult education program available to them was not extensive.[1] Thirty-five of the survey respondents (22.2 per cent) and thirty-three of the wives of respondents (20.9 per cent) were found to have enrolled in one or more courses in the three year period studied. Nine respondents (25.7 per cent) had taken two courses and five (14.3 per cent) had enrolled in three or more. Of the wives, 30.3 per cent enrolled in two courses and two (6.0 per cent) had participated in three or more. Since the total population of the valley was interviewed in the initial survey and since night school registration forms were used to identify participants, this study includes everyone who attended a night school class in the three school terms from 1964 to 1966 inclusive.

The socio-economic characteristics of participants in adult education have been studied extensively. For the most part, existing research has

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1. Participation in adult education is generally lower among the rural population than that encountered in an urban setting. See: Coolie Verner and John S. Newberry, Jr., "The Nature of Adult Participation," Adult Education, 8:208-222, (Summer, 1958). See also: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Participants in Further Education in Canada, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963, p. 13.

tended to concentrate on particular groups of participants such as urban night classes, agricultural extension groups, discussion groups, university extension classes, or similar institutional or activity centered populations. The present study is restricted to public school night courses for adults since that was the only organized adult education available to the population in the Pemberton Valley. The socio-economic characteristics selected for the present analysis are listed in Table 1 and, of these, nine were found to differentiate between participants and non-participants in adult education in

TABLE 1

CHI SQUARE VALUES FOR DISTRIBUTIONS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

Characteristic	Degrees of Freedom	Chi Square	p
Age	2	10.84	$<.01$
Marital Status	1	0.27	$>.05$
Children at Home	1	4.60	$<.05$
Level of Living	2	3.58	$>.05$
Birthplace	2	19.29	$<.001$
Years in Area	3	19.30	$<.001$
Years in Present Home	2	0.31	$>.05$
Related Families	2	10.31	$<.01$
Farm or Non-Farm	1	6.50	$<.02$
Principal Occupation	2	1.57	$>.05$
Secondary Occupation	1	0.11	$>.05$
Years in Occupation	1	0.04	$>.05$
Job Satisfaction	1	0.57	$>.05$
Unemployment	1	1.47	$>.05$
Total Income	2	3.35	$>.05$
Respondent's Education	1	1.54	$>.05$
Respondent's Training	1	1.70	$>.05$
Wife's Education	1	0.34	$>.05$
Wife's Training	1	1.52	$>.05$
Father's Education	1	6.35	$<.02$
Father's Training	1	1.02	$>.05$
Adequate Skills	1	8.05	$<.01$
Further Education	1	16.42	$<.001$

Pemberton. Along with the characteristics usually included in an analysis of the characteristics of participants, the present study adds kinship linkages in the valley and the perceived adequacy of skill proficiency. The several characteristics are discussed below.

Age

The age group from 15 to 34 years contained 20.9 per cent of the respondents but it had 34.3 per cent of the participants compared with 17.1 per cent of the non-participants. (Table 2). On the other hand, the 55 years or older group had 29.1 per cent of the respondents and 34.9 per cent of the non-participants as against 8.6 per cent of the participants. The age group from 35 to 54 contained the largest number of respondents (50.0 per cent), participants (57.1 per cent) and non-participants (48.0 per cent). The number in each age group who participated declined from 36.4 per cent of those between 15 and 34 years to 25.3 per cent in the 35 to 54 year group and to only 6.5 per cent in the 55 or older group. There was a significant negative correlation $(r = -.24)^2$ between age and participation which further emphasizes the trend noted elsewhere for participation in adult education to decrease as age advances.[3]

TABLE 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

Age	Total		Non-Participants		Participants		% of Respondents
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	who participated
15 - 34	33	20.9	21	17.1	12	34.3	36.4
35 - 54	79	50.0	59	48.0	20	57.1	25.3
55 or more	46	29.1	43	34.9	3	8.6	6.5
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 10.84$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$.

2. Correlation coefficients are presented in Appendix One.

3. Goard and Dickinson, op. cit.

Family

The number of children living at home was not an inhibiting factor as the respondents with more children at home were more active participants. The number of respondents who participated was 16.8 per cent for those with two or less children but it was 31.6 per cent for those with three or more and this difference was statistically significant. Neither did more children appear to limit participation by wives since there was a significant positive correlation (r = .26) between number of children living at home and wife's participation in adult education. Thus, both the husbands and the wives with more children participated more in educational activities.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Birthplace	Total No.	%	Non-Participants No.	%	Participants No.	%	% of Respondents who participated
Pemberton Valley	17	10.8	7	5.7	10	28.6	58.8
Other British Columbia	42	26.6	30	24.4	12	34.3	28.6
Elsewhere	99	62.6	86	69.9	13	37 1	13.1
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 19.29$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$.

Residence

Three characteristics related to residence showed statistically significant differences between participants and non-participants. As indicated in Table 3, 58.8 per cent of the respondents who were born in Pemberton participated in adult education compared with 28.6 per cent of those from other parts of British Columbia and 13.1 per cent of those born elsewhere. Although 10.8 per cent of the respondents were born in the Pemberton Valley, this group

accounted for 28.6 per cent of the participants and 5.7 per cent of the non-participants. In contrast, 62.6 per cent of the respondents were born outside of British Columbia but 37.1 per cent of the participants and 69.9 per cent of the non-participants were from this group. Those born in British Columbia but not in Pemberton accounted for 26.6 per cent of the respondents, 24.4 per cent of the non-participants, and 34.3 per cent of the participants.

No consistent pattern was found with respect to number of years resident in the area and participation in adult education. The highest number of participants (55.0 per cent) was in the group who had spent their entire lifetime in Pemberton but the lowest figure (5.3 per cent) was for those who had lived in the valley for seventeen or more years. (Table 4). Some 18.6 per cent of those who had lived in the area for five years or less participated in adult education as did 24.6 per cent in the six to sixteen year category. Thus, the relative newcomers and the longer-term residents who were not born in the valley participated less than did the other two groups.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS BY NUMBER OF YEARS RESIDENT IN THE AREA

Years Resident	Total		Non-Participants		Participants		% of Respondents who participated
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
5 or less	43	27.2	35	28.5	8	22.9	18.6
6 - 16	57	36.1	43	35.0	14	40.0	24.6
17 or more	38	24.1	36	29.3	2	5.7	5.3
Entire lifetime	20	12.6	9	7.2	11	31.4	55.0
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 19.30$, d.f. = 3, $p < .001$.

Kinship

Those respondents with more kinship links in the valley were more likely to participate in adult education (r = .25). Some 14.4 per cent of the respondents with no related families in Pemberton were participants while 25.6 per cent of those related to from one to five families and 44.0 per cent of those related to more than five families were participants in adult education. (Table 5). Although each of these three categories of kinship links contained approximately the same number of participants, the number of non-participants ranged from 62.6 per cent for those with no related families to 11.4 per cent of those related to more than five families.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS BY NUMBER OF RELATED FAMILIES LIVING IN PEMBERTON

Number of Families	Total		Non-Participants		Participants		% of Respondents who participated
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
None	90	57.0	77	62.6	13	37.1	14.4
1 - 5	43	27.2	32	26.0	11	31.4	25.6
More than 5	25	15.8	14	11.4	11	31.4	44.0
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 10.31$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$.

The kinship links were found to exist among the families long established in Pemberton and participation in adult education appears to be an extension of the informal social interaction among families that is reported later. Newer families in Pemberton were less active in adult education and had less informal social interaction. Such kinship links might well influence the nature of the adult education programs offered in the valley since the courses are selected by the participants. Furthermore, the kinship links may deter those residents not linked to the old established families from participating. Such close family ties in a

population are a phenomenon of rural communities but this role of kinship links in participation in adult education has not been observed elsewhere. If it is found to be a persistent phenomenon in rural adult education it can be utilized in strengthening and broadening participation in adult education programs. On the other hand, it may be a phenomenon of this particular community since it is found in other forms of informal social interaction as noted below.

Economic Factors

The only economic characteristic that differentiated between participants and non-participants was the farm-non-farm classification. Thirteen farm (38.2 per cent) compared with twenty-two non-farm respondents (17.7 per cent) had enrolled in at least one night school course during the last three years and this difference was statistically significant. Eight characteristics of farm respondents including number of acres owned, number of improved acres, number of animal units, gross farm income, amount of off-farm work, personal and impersonal contacts with the District Agriculturist, and participation in agriculture courses were examined but none differentiated among farm respondents with respect to participation in adult education. Thus, the nature of the agricultural operation did not appear to influence the night school participation of farmers.

Education

In contrast to previous research, neither the education nor the job training of the husband or of the wife was related to participation in adult education although the education of the father was a significant characteristic. Some 16.8 per cent of the respondents whose father had eight or less years of school completed were participants whereas 31.6 per cent of those reporting a father's education of more than eight years participated and this difference was statistically significant.

Skill Adequacy

Those respondents who reported that their occupational skills were adequate to ensure satisfactory employment in the future participated less (18.4 per cent) in adult education than did those who were not so satisfied with their present level of skill (45.5 per cent). This relationship may be an important clue to motivation. If an individual is confident of his occupational competence he will perceive no need for and thus not be motivated to seek further learning. The nature of the courses available in the night school program could influence this as the courses available in Pemberton were primarily non-vocational in nature and those respondents confident of their level of skill may conceive of education solely in vocational terms.

Those respondents who expressed a desire for further education or training participated more (34.1 per cent) than those who did not (7.1 per cent). There was a significant correlation coefficient between desire for further education and the number of courses taken by respondents ($r = .29$) and by the wife ($r = .21$). Among some of the respondents, at any rate, the awareness of a need for further learning was translated into action by participation in such opportunities as were available regardless of the relationship to occupation. This may indicate that an awareness of need for learning may be more a generalized than a specific perception. On the other hand, people may be unaware of their own level of competence and of a need for further learning because their perceptions of education are particularized and since the opportunities available in the night school program were generalized courses they did not participate. These data suggest only lines for fruitful enquiry rather than answers.

Many of the socio-economic characteristics which have been found to differentiate between participants and non-participants in adult education by other research are not significant here. This appears to confirm the conclusion reached by Verner and Newberry that rural communities have fewer clearly defined distinctions among people so that participation is not restricted to or

characteristic of particular segments of the population. In Pemberton, the differential characteristics relate more closely to community structure than to socio-economic characteristics of individuals. Since this has not been studied extensively it may well represent phenomena peculiar to isolated rural communities such as Pemberton, but it suggests that a more detailed examination of certain structural elements is warranted.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL INTERACTION

The involvement of an individual in the social life of a community consists of informal social interaction as well as participation in local voluntary associations. Previous research has generally shown there to be a significant relationship between participation in formal organizations and that in adult education but there has been little examination of informal social interaction as it relates to participation in adult education.

INFORMAL SOCIAL INTERACTION

Bernard's Neighbouring Practices Schedule[1] was used to collect information regarding the frequency of contacts between people residing in close proximity to each other. More than two-thirds of the respondents said that they knew everyone in their neighbourhood and 60.7 per cent

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1. D.C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement. New York: David McKay Company, 1964, pp. 217-219. The schedule includes questions concerning such practices as chatting with neighbours, exchanging recipes, preserves, and other objects, shopping together, talking over problems, and going on picnics with neighbours. There are nine items on the schedule and the responses range from "never" (1 point) to "often" (4 points).

frequently engaged in chats with their neighbours whereas only two respondents reported that they never did this. About three-fourths exchanged articles with their neighbours either "sometimes" or "often" and services were exchanged at a similar frequency. Shopping together was the least frequently reported neighbouring practice and 45.6 per cent reported that this was never done. Talking over problems and picnicing together showed similar patterns of responses with the majority doing these things "sometimes". One-fifth reported that they "often" took care of each others children when necessary because of illness and only a few respondents felt that people in the neighbourhood were not very friendly.

The frequency of labour and machinery exchanges, which is essentially a "helping" relationship with no neighbourhood boundaries necessarily implied, was also investigated. Such relationships were not an everyday occurrence as 21.5 to 41.1 per cent of the residents never assisted others or were assisted by them. Twice as many household heads reported that they gave free labour to others "often" than reported receiving such help but the majority of responses were in the "sometimes" category. Machinery and equipment were exchanged less frequently than labour, and again more reported giving than receiving such assistance "often". The normal pattern appeared to be for the respondents to rely chiefly on their own efforts with occasional assistance from others, but a substantial number of respondents did not participate in these helping relationships.

The respondents were asked to indicate to whom they went for advice with general and specific problems. Forty-eight residents were mentioned by eighty-eight and six was the maximum number of times any one individual was named while seventy respondents (44.3 per cent) did not name anyone to whom they would go for advice on a general problem. A similar reluctance to discuss specific problems with other valley residents was observed. Thirty-one respondents (19.6 per cent) said that they went to the high school principal for advice on educational problems and two teachers were named a total of eleven times and no one indicated that they sought educational advice from a non-school

source. Thirty-one respondents (19.6 per cent) said that they sought advice about child rearing from a resident of the community but no individual was named more than twice. The bank manager was named by twenty respondents (12.7 per cent) as a source of counsel for business problems but no other community member was mentioned more than five times and two-thirds of the household heads said that they did not go to anyone for such help. Only sixteen respondents (10.1 per cent) would seek advice on problems involving government and no one was named more than twice.

In contrast, the farmers appeared to be quite willing to discuss their agricultural problems with other farm operators in the valley. Thirty-one farmers (91.2 per cent) named a person living in the community to whom they went for advice on a farming problem. Two members of one of the pioneer families in the Upper Valley were mentioned a total of thirteen times and another farmer was named six times. These three had lived in Pemberton for more than twenty years and two of them for their entire lifetime. Two other farmers were named three times each as sources of agricultural advice who were also long-time valley residents. This difference between farmers and non-farmers with respect to consultations regarding agricultural matters may stem, in part, from the absence of any convenient professional assistance. The local District Agriculturist from whom farmers might normally seek advice is stationed over 100 miles distant and does not visit the valley frequently or regularly. Furthermore, agricultural operations are much more conspicuous so that problems are more readily apparent than would be the case with other types of advice.

Informal social interaction of the kinds cited here indicate that the residents of the valley tend to be self-sufficient. Although they know each other, chat together frequently, and feel that others are neighbourly, the inter-personal interaction does not develop beyond a superficial level. One might hypothesize that such an isolated setting would generate an early pioneer type culture with a strong gemeinschaft relationship among the residents but this has not developed

among Pemberton residents. Since the valley was settled largely in the twentieth century it may have attracted personality types that were basically social isolates who chose the valley because of its isolation. This is supported somewhat by the reaction to the new road which made the area more readily accessible as some residents expressed the opinion that they would have to move to another more isolated area.

Social visiting among the residents tended to be restricted to kinship ties with little evidence of family socializing between unrelated family groups.[2] This tendency to isolation might help explain the strong influence of kinship linkages on participation in adult education noted earlier.

FORMAL SOCIAL INTERACTION

There are eleven formal organizations in the Pemberton Valley. The newest organization was formed in 1966 and it is the most active one in the community at present. The total memberships reported for all organizations involves some 31.0 per cent of the non-Indian population in the valley. Memberships in all organizations has declined from 328 in 1964 to 310 in 1966. Since many of these are multiple memberships the actual number of residents involved in the organizations is small. Very few of these organizations have active programs and attendance at meetings is generally poor.

The participation by individuals was measured by Chapin's Social Participation Scale.[3] Thirty per cent of the respondents reported no participation

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2. Informal social interaction among the Indians in the valley was restricted mainly to residents of the Mount Currie reserve. There was little evidence of interaction between the Indian and non-Indian residents and those among the non-Indians who might be consulted were resident on or near the reserve.

3. F.S. Chapin, Social Participation Scale. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938. The extent of participation is measured by the number of memberships held during the previous year and each membership counts as one point toward the total scale score. Intensity, or degree of involvement, is measured by attendance at meetings, financial contributions, committee memberships, and the holding of offices. A higher scale score reflects a higher rate of participation.

in any local organization and an additional 27.3 per cent had a scale score ranging from one to ten points indicating only minimal participation. (Table 6). Thus, more than half of the household heads had either no involvement or such minimal participation as might be represented by merely holding memberships without actively engaging in organizational activities. Nineteen respondents (12.0 per cent) scored more than thirty points on the scale and these represent the most active group in the community.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM AND NON-FARM RESPONDENTS BY SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORE

Social Participation Score	Total		Farm		Non-Farm	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	48	30.4	4	11.8	44	35.5
1 - 5	11	7.0	2	5.9	9	7.3
6 - 10	32	20.3*	12	35.3*	20	16.1*
11 - 15	7	4.4	2	5.9	5	4.0
16 - 20	16	10.1	2	5.9	14	11.3
21 - 25	13	8.2	4	11.8	9	7.3
26 - 30	12	7.6	3	8.8	9	7.3
More than 30	19	12.0	5	14.7	14	11.3
Total	158	100.0	34	100.0	124	100.0

* Median $X^2 = 23.35$, d.f. = 3, $p < .001$.

In urban communities the non-participating population ranges around the sixty per cent level so that the population in Pemberton may appear somewhat more active than expected but this can be misleading in view of the multiple and declining memberships and the generally poor attendance at meetings.

There was a statistically significant difference in the distribution between farm and non-farm respondents by social participation score with the

farm group tending to be more active participants. Some 11.8 per cent of the farm compared with 35.5 per cent of the non-farm respondents reported no participation. The difference between the two groups may be accentuated by the existence of specialized farmers' organizations which would provide more opportunities for participation by farm respondents than exist for non-farm residents of Pemberton. The respondents who reported more involvement in neighbouring activities also had higher social participation scores and there was a significant positive correlation ($r = .25$) between the two characteristics.

PAN-COMMUNITY INTERACTION

Until the spring of 1965 there was no road link between Pemberton and the outside world except for a rough trail to Squamish which followed the power transmission lines. This trail was passable for four-wheel drive vehicles, but construction of an actual road-bed did not begin until late 1964. The only practical way of entering and leaving the valley, therefore, was by railroad.

The opening of the road has had a number of consequences for the community of Pemberton. The most obvious of these has been an increase in the frequency of contacts by the residents with the outside world. As Table 7 indicates, the median number of trips to the outside has increased from one to three per year before the road opened to eleven or more trips annually.[4] More than half of the household heads now go outside the valley at least once per month whereas only 15.2 per cent did so before the road was completed.

The number of residents owning a car decreased slightly. Before the road was opened 85.2 per cent owned cars compared with 78.5 per cent reporting car ownership afterwards and three residents who had owned cars previously no longer had them. Those who owned an automobile, naturally, went out

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4. Twenty-three of the respondents moved to Pemberton after the road was opened.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ANNUAL NUMBER OF TRIPS OUTSIDE THE VALLEY BEFORE AND AFTER COMPLETION OF THE ROAD

Trips per year	Before Road No.	%	After Road No.	%
None or not a resident before	24	15.2	1	0.6
1 - 3	58	36.7*	28	17.7
4 - 6	32	20.2	23	14.6
7 - 10	20	12.7	25	15.8
11 or more	24	15.2	81	51.3*
Total	158	100.0	158	100.0

* Median $X^2 = 21.49$, d.f. = 3, $p < .001$.

of the valley more frequently than those that did not and their most frequent destination was Vancouver while those not owning cars went elsewhere on the railroad. Automobile ownership was also related to more expenditures out of the valley after the road than before.

While completion of the road has greatly increased the frequency of contacts by the Pemberton residents with the outside world, it has also increased the probability of outsiders entering the valley. It was anticipated that this two-way communication which is now possible might have had some negative consequences, therefore, twenty opinion items were administered to the respondents in order to guage their present feelings about the road. Seventy-three per cent of the responses were favourable toward the road whereas twenty-one per cent were unfavourable and the remainder were neutral. There was a statistically significant difference in the distribution by road opinion score between the farm and non-farm respondents with the farmers regarding the road less favourably. Most of the correlation coefficients between road opinion and other socio-economic characteristics were of a low order, but the total score was significantly associated with number of years in the area ($r = .18$) and with

community satisfaction (r = .16). The latter figure indicates that those who were more satisfied with the Pemberton community were also more in favour of the road, while the former correlation coefficient suggests that the longer-time valley residents were more favourable toward the road than were the newer residents. It appears, then, that the long-time residents were not averse to the road and considered it to be a useful innovation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND ADULT EDUCATION

The respondents who participated in adult education were compared with those who did not with respect to the ten social interaction variables listed in Table 8. The null hypothesis of no statistically significant difference in the distribution between the two groups was rejected for two characteristics, social participation and road opinion score. Thus, there was a significant difference between the participants and the non-participants with respect to those two characteristics only.

TABLE 8

CHI SQUARE VALUES FOR DISTRIBUTIONS BY SOCIAL INTERACTION CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

Characteristic	Degrees of Freedom	Chi Square Value	p
Rural satisfaction	1	0.01	N.S.
Community satisfaction	2	1.84	N.S.
Distance travelled	2	5.89	N.S.
Social distance	2	2.48	N.S.
Neighbouring practices	2	3.05	N.S.
Times outside valley before	2	1.79	N.S.
Social participation	2	11.50	$<.01$
Times outside valley now	2	1.79	N.S.
Money spent outside	1	0.68	N.S.
Road opinion	2	14.58	$<.001$

Informal social interaction of the kind measured by the neighbouring practices scale was not associated with participation in adult education by the respondent but there was a significant positive correlation (r = .28) between the two characteri stics for the wives of respondents. This suggests that the wives who were more active in the various neighbouring practices tended to take more adult education courses than those who were less involved. Participation in formal organizations was related to adult education participation for both the respondents (r = .22) and their wives (r = .23). Some 6.3 per cent of the respondents who did not take part in the activities of an organization participated in adult education compared with 23.3 per cent in the one to ten point category and 32.8 per cent with eleven or more points on the social participation scale. (Table 9). The more active social participants accounted for 42.4 per cent of the total number of respondents but for 62.8 per cent of the adult education participants. On the other hand, those with a zero social participation score accounted for 30.4 per cent of the respondents as against 8.6 per cent of the participants in adult education.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION BY SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCORE

Social Participation	Total		Non-participants		Participants		% of Respondents who participated
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
0	48	30.4	45	36.6	3	8.6	6.3
1 - 10	43	27.2	33	26.8	10	28.6	23.3
11 or more	67	42.4	45	36.6	22	62.8	32.8
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 11.50$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$.

This positive relationship between general social participation and participation in adult education is consistent with previous research. Thus, organized adult education programs and formal organizations are similar

phenomena. An adult education program tends to involve those individuals who are predisposed to participate in structured social activities but not those who tend to avoid such things. The predisposition to participate does not necessarily transfer from one family member to another as indicated by the differential between husbands and wives. This suggests that participation per se is influenced more by individual personality characteristics than by the social situation. The solution to non-participation in adult education must lie in the nature and structure of the activity itself and attempts to increase participation by a direct approach to individuals are thwarted by the nature of the activity.

There was some evidence to indicate that the frequency of use of the road was related to participation in adult education. A significant negative correlation coefficient ($r = -.17$) was obtained between the number of times per year that a respondent went outside the valley before the road was opened and participation in adult education indicating that those who made more trips outside were less active participants in adult education. There was a significant positive correlation ($r = .19$) between the number of courses taken by wives and the frequency of trips outside the valley since the road was built. Thus, the women who had more frequent contacts with the outside world participated in adult education more than did the wives with fewer such contacts.

The more subjective measure of opinions regarding the road showed an inverse association with adult education participation as there was a significant negative correlation ($r = -.19$) between the two characteristics. Furthermore there was a significant difference in the distribution between participants and non-participants by road opinion score. The majority of those who participated in adult education expressed no opinion (14.3 per cent) or a very low opinion (43.6 per cent) about the new road. (Table 10). More participants (48.6 per cent) than non-participants (17.9 per cent) made low scores on the road opinion scale indicating an unfavourable attitude toward the road. Conversely, a more favourable attitude about the road was expressed by more non-participants (27.6 per cent) than by those who participated in adult education

(8.6 per cent). This relationship between participation in adult education and attitude toward the new road is consistent with the tendency to isolationism noted earlier.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION BY ROAD OPINION SCORE

Road Opinion	Total		Non-participants		Participants		% of Respondents who participated
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Less than 70	39	24.7	22	17.9	17	48.6	43.6
70 - 79	68	43.0	55	44.7	13	37.1	19.1
80 or more	37	23.4	34	27.6	3	8.6	8.1
No response	14	8.9	12	9.8	2	5.7	14.3
Total	158	100.0	123	100.0	35	100.0	22.2

$X^2 = 14.58$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCALITY GROUPS

The physical structure of a community exerts an influence on participation in adult education although the force and character of this influence is not clearly established. The rate of participation tends to decline as the distance increases between place of residence and the locale of the activity yet distance itself is no barrier to participation. The optimum distance appears to be about five miles in an urban environment but this has not been determined for a rural community. As Kaplan noted, physical distance is not synonymous with accessibility to adult education programs and still indeterminate psychological and sociological variables interact with distance to influence accessibility.[1]

The residents of Pemberton are clustered into five locality groups as indicated on Figure One. Group I is located in the upper valley from approximately six miles northwest of the village of Pemberton to the head of the valley. This area is identified locally as Pemberton Meadows. Group II occupies the area between the outskirts of the village and the southern border of Pemberton Meadows. Pemberton Village is Group III and the only

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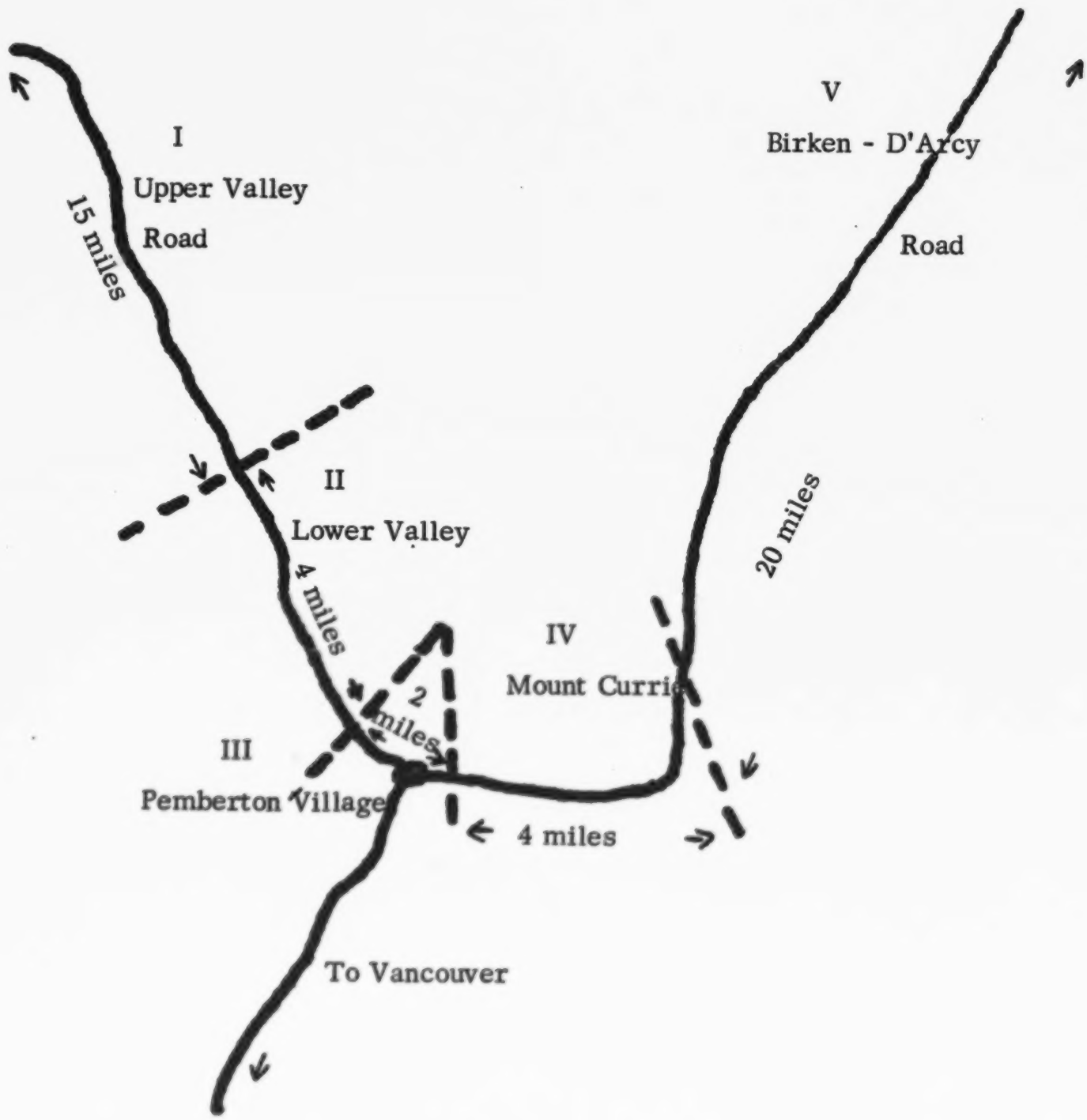
1. A.A. Kaplan, Socio-Economic Circumstances and Adult Participation in Certain Cultural and Educational Activities. New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1943.

FIGURE 1

LOCALITY GROUPS IN THE

PEMBERTON VALLEY



compact concentration of population in the valley. Group IV occupies the area around Mount Currie and this is also the location of the Indian Reserve. The fifth group is in the area from Mount Currie northeast to the lower terminus of the valley at Anderson Lake and this area is identified as Birken-D'Arcy. The Indian Reserve itself might be classed as a sixth locality group but it is predetermined by the nature of the population and is not included here.

Each locality has an elementary school and in some instances small retail stores but the principal trade center as well as the largest concentration of population is in Pemberton Village - Group III. The adult night school was conducted in the secondary school building which was located just outside of the village in Group II. The residents in Group II had a mean distance of two miles to travel to the night school. Those residents of Group III travelled three miles and Group IV a mean distance of five miles. Group I had to travel thirteen miles with Group V some seventeen miles distant.

The several locality groups were ranked and tested for differences in informal visits, participation in formal organizations, and participation in adult education. The Kendall Coefficient of Concordance[2] showed a significant degree of association among the ranking of the locality groups by type of participation. Locality Group II had the highest number of participants in all three types measured while Locality Group I ranked second for two types and Locality Group III ranked third for two types.

INFORMAL VISITS

The percentage of respondents exchanging informal visits with other respondents ranged from 59.3 to 79.2 per cent in the five locality groups. (Table 11). Further analysis indicated that visiting was structured by locality group divisions and 55.9 per cent of all the visits reported were between

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2. See: N.M. Downie and R.W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods, New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

TABLE 11

RANK ORDER OF LOCALITY GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN THREE TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

Locality Group	Number of Respondents	Respondents Participating					
		Informal Visits		Formal Organizations		Adult Education	
		%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
I	29	75.9	2	69.0	4	27.6	2
II	24	79.2	1	87.5	1	33.3	1
III	62	71.0	3	74.2	2	22.6	3
IV	27	59.3	5	70.4	3	18.5	4
V	16	62.5	4	25.0	5	0.0	5
Total	158	70.3		69.6		22.2	

$W = .80$, $p < .05$.

families residing in the same locality. The limitations on this type of social interaction were particularly evident in Group I where 68.3 per cent of the visits exchanged were between families residing in that area and in Group V where the corresponding figure was 80.0 per cent. There were no visits exchanged between families residing in Group I and Group V residents. The percentage of intra-locality visits lessened in the remaining locality groups, but residents of Group II rarely exchanged visits with those in Group IV. This suggests that Pemberton Village formed a barrier to informal visits between the residents in the two branches of the valley.

This tendency for informal visiting to be restricted to a given locality group may be further evidence of a basic isolationism in the residents of Pemberton. While they can accommodate social interaction within the smaller orbit of their locality group they appear to resist any extension beyond those limits except for kinship linkages.

FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Between 25.0 and 87.5 per cent of the respondents in each locality group reported participation in a formal organization in the year preceding the survey. Three locality groups were clustered around the seventy per cent figure but only one-fourth of the household heads in Group V had participated in a formal organization. As that locality was the most distant from the service and organizational center of the valley, it would seem that the lack of social participation could be attributed partly to the distance involved. That informal visiting did not decline to the same extent is probably related to the fact that the majority of such visits were restricted to residents of the home locality, therefore, there was less need to travel in order to engage in this type of social interaction.

The high coefficient of concordance among the rank orders of the locality groups by informal and formal social participation and adult education participation tends to support the generalization that involvement in a specific activity is related to participation in other types of social relationships. In this case, the locality group having the highest percentage of respondents participating in adult education also ranked first on the other two types while the locality group with the lowest number of adult education participants ranked low on the other types of participation. This occurred despite the differential influence of distance on informal and formal social participation.

ADULT EDUCATION

Thirty-five respondents (22.2 per cent) had registered for at least one night school course in the three year period from 1964 to 1966. (Table 12). The highest number of participants (33.3 per cent) was in Group II where the night school was situated while none of the respondents in Group V, the most

distant from the night school, had registered for a course. The other locality groups had between 18.5 and 27.6 per cent participants. The chi square test for goodness of fit did not indicate a statistically significant difference in the observed and the theoretical distribution of night school participants between the five locality groups, however, a test for the difference between proportions[3] indicated that Group V differed significantly at the .05 level from Groups I, II, and III with respect to the proportion of respondents participating in a course.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS AND WIVES OF RESPONDENTS BY PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Locality Group	Respondents		Wives	
	No.	%	No.	%
I	8	27.6	4	13.8
II	8	33.3	8	33.3
III	14	22.6	16	25.8
IV	5	18.5	5	18.5
V	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	35	22.2	33	20.9
Respondents:	$X_2^2 = 3.92$, d.f. = 3, $p > .05$.			
Wives:	$X^2 = 4.84$, d.f. = 3, $p > .05$.			

In both Locality Groups II and IV the same number of wives as respondents had taken a night school course but the percentage of total wives participating was 20.9 per cent which is slightly less than the figure for respondents. None of the wives in Group V had participated in adult education while in Group I the number of wives participating was half that of the respondents. The chi square value obtained for participation by the wife was not

3. Vernon Davies, A Rapid Method for Determining the Significance of the Difference between Two Percentages, Pullman, Washington: The Author, no date.

statistically significant, but the proportion of wives in Groups II and III who participated was significantly different from the proportion in Group V.

The residents in Group II had taken an average of one course per household in the three year period and this was followed by a .82 course per household average in Group III while Groups I and IV had averages of .55 and .52 courses per household. (Table 13). The probability of this observed distribution occurring by chance was less than one per cent, therefore, there was a significant difference in the distribution of locality groups with respect to the mean number of courses per household. The highest participation rates occurred in the localities nearest to the night school center while the more distant ones had lower participation rates and the most distant locality group had no night school participants.

TABLE 13

TOTAL AND MEAN NUMBER OF COURSES TAKEN BY RESPONDENTS AND WIVES OF RESPONDENTS BY LOCALITY GROUP

Locality Group	Respondents		Wives		Total	
	Total	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	Mean
I	11	.38	5	.17	16	.55
II	11	.46	13	.54	24	1.00
III	27	.44	24	.38	51	.82
IV	7	.26	7	.26	14	.52
V	0	.00	0	.00	0	.00
Total	56	.35	49	.31	105	.66

Respondents: $X^2_2 = 6.53$, d.f. = 3, $p < .10$.
Wives: $X^2_2 = 10.20$, d.f. = 3, $p < .02$.
Total: $X^2 = 14.55$, d.f. = 3, $p < .01$.

Excluding Group V, the mean number of courses taken by the respondents ranged from .26 to .46 compared with a range of .17 to .54 for the wives of respondents. These data suggest that locality group had a greater

influence on participation by the wife than by the husband, therefore, distance had a more adverse effect on the participation of the women.

The data respecting adult education participation presented in Tables 12 and 13 were ranked and compared with the rank of the locality groups by distance to the night school center using the tau correlation coefficient. (Table 14). Both the percentages of wives participating and the mean number of courses taken by the wife had a rank order identical to that for distance from the night school. This suggests that adult education participation by the wife was directly related to distance, thus, as distance increased, the extent and frequency of participation decreased. Distance appeared to play a slightly lesser role in participation by the respondents as it correlated .60 with the percentage of respondents participating and .80 with the mean number of courses taken.

TABLE 14

TAU CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK OF LOCALITY GROUPS BY PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION AND DISTANCE TO THE NIGHT SCHOOL

Participation Characteristic	Correlation with Distance	p
Percentage of respondents participating	.60	.117
Percentage of wives participating	1.00	.008
Mean number of courses by respondents	.80	.042
Mean number of courses by wives	1.00	.008
Mean number of courses by household	.80	.042

The data generally support the hypothesis that participation in adult education decreases as distance from the center in which courses are offered increases. A similar trend was found with respect to informal and formal social participation. Thus, distance exerts an influence on all types of social participation but is not the most important barrier to participation in adult education. The combination of distance and low social participation generally

does tend to limit involvement in adult education programs. If distance alone were the chief barrier this might be lessened by situating night classes in the elementary school in a locality group area. This will not necessarily overcome the probable impact of personality or isolationism discussed earlier but reducing the range of possible contacts to those within the given locality group may make the adult education activity assume some of the characteristics found to be associated with informal visiting.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The socio-economic survey of Pemberton provided an opportunity to examine in more detail the relationship of certain structural attributes of a community to participation in adult education. Because of its isolation, Pemberton cannot be considered to be a typical rural community in British Columbia or Canada. Thus, the data presented here are such that generalizations to rural society in general are not warranted. In spite of this limitation, certain attributes examined here that have not been studied specifically elsewhere suggest specific lines of inquiry that may produce fruitful results leading to a better understanding of the problems associated with social participation in rural communities generally. This also suggests that action programs designed for rural communities might take cognizance of the potential influence of structure on participation in such programs.

SUMMARY

The development of systematic adult education in Pemberton has been hampered by the relatively small population of the area numbering approximately 2,000 persons. Twenty-three night school courses were offered between

1964 and 1966 and these enrolled a total of 352 participants. The enrollment in 1966 was more than double that of 1964 and some of the increase may be attributed to the participation of Indians in the program beginning in 1965. The courses offered were mainly in vocational training, domestic sciences, and recreational activities. Although more than half of those interviewed reported that they wanted to take further education or job training, the night school courses offered bore little relationship to the specific needs and interests which they had expressed.

The matching of night school registration forms with survey interview schedules indicated that 22.2 per cent of the respondents and 20.9 per cent of the wives had taken a course between 1964 and 1966. In the majority of cases only one course had been taken but 40.0 per cent of the respondents and 36.4 per cent of the wives who had participated took two or more courses. Fifty households (31.6 per cent) had at least one night school participant.

Nine of the twenty-three socio-economic characteristics studied differentiated between those who did or did not participate in adult education. The significant characteristics included age, number of children at home, birthplace, number of years in the area, number of related families living in Pemberton, farm or non-farm residence, father's education, perceived adequacy of skills, and desire for further education. In general, the younger respondents and those with more children were more likely to participate. The farm population had more participants than the non-farm and those respondents whose fathers had more education were more likely to be participants. Uncertainty with respect to the adequacy of present job skills and the desire for more education or job training were also related to participation in adult education. The respondents who were born in Pemberton, had lived there for their entire lifetime, had established more kinship ties and participated more than did the newer residents who came to the valley from other areas.

Two social interaction characteristics were found to differentiate between participants and non-participants in adult education. Those respondents more active in formal organizations were also more active in adult

education which is not unexpected as the two phenomena are similar in nature. A less favourable opinion regarding the new road into the area was also associated with more participation in adult education.

Locality of residence was found to be a related variable and in general, participation decreased as distance from the locality in which the night school is situated increased and there were no participants from the most distant locality group. Locality group appeared to limit participation by the wife more than it did that by the husband.

CONCLUSIONS

Participation in adult education was widely distributed throughout the population in Pemberton, but certain categories of people were more likely to participate than others. It appeared that the long-established valley residents were the most influential group and that they may have had an effect on the types of programs offered which were generally peripheral to the needs expressed by other residents in the community. Thus, this group may be hindering change in the community by limiting night school offerings to those requiring minimal behavioral change by the participants.

The detailed analysis of Pemberton suggested a number of aspects in the community social structure where educational programs might be helpful in improving the economic conditions of the residents. Half of the retail businessmen had neither training or experience in business before opening their stores. A small business management program might therefore be of considerable value to these people. The farmers were another group that might benefit from an educational program since they appeared to be slow in adopting new agricultural practices. As the valley lacks certain of the media for the general dissemination of information, direct personal contacts would be necessary in order to provide assistance to the farm operators. At the present time, however, there is no such source of information resident in the community.

The social distance evident between the Indian and White residents of the valley is another aspect of the community social structure which might be approached through an educational program. With a few exceptions, the non-Indian residents seemed to have little knowledge of Indian culture or traditions and this may be a factor contributing to the social distance observed.

The findings respecting locality groups and participation in adult education present a two-fold problem for rural adult education programming. Locality groups that are situated at some distance from educational facilities will tend to have fewer adult education participants than locality groups in close proximity to such facilities. A second factor limiting participation is that the existing patterns of social interaction seem to be less intense in distant locality groups. Decentralization of courses would assist in overcoming the obstacle of physical distance, but the patterns of social participation must also be considered. Participation in adult education might best be encouraged through the network of informal social relationships. An alternative approach would be to make greater use of individual methods as against the more commonly used group methods such as the class to increase the number of educational opportunities available to rural adults.

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APPENDIX

ADULT EDUCATION CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	Respondent's Adult Education	Wife's Adult Education	Household Adult Education
Respondent's A.E.	1.00		
Wife's A.E.	.36	1.00	
Household A.E.	.84	.81	1.00
Age	-.24	-.21	-.27
Husband's Education	.04	.07	.07
Husband's Training	-.10	.11	-.01
Wife's Education	.01	.04	.03
Wife's Training	.02	-.11	-.05
Children at Home	.15	.26	.25
Father's Education	.15	.02	.11
Father's Training	-.14	-.03	-.10
Years in Area	.12	.07	.11
Years in Home	.04	-.05	.00
Distance Travelled	-.12	-.19	-.19
Level of Living	.08	.14	.13
Social Participation	.22	.23	.27
Job Satisfaction	.02	.12	.18
Community Satisfaction	-.02	.08	.04
Rural Satisfaction	-.06	-.11	-.10
Times Out Before	-.17	.04	-.09
Times Out Now	.04	.19	.14
More Money Out	.13	.06	.11
Related Families	.25	.08	.21
Neighbouring Score	.09	.28	.22
Indian Attitude	-.06	.07	.01
Road Attitude	-.19	-.02	-.13
Principal Occupation	-.07	.05	-.01
Secondary Occupation	-.18	.01	-.10
Years in Occupation	-.03	.06	.01
Total Income	.13	.21	.21
Unemployment	-.11	-.04	-.09
Adequate Skills	.09	.16	.15
Further Education	.29	.21	.31

Note: The underlined values are statistically significant at the .05 level.

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